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# Western Canada And The Empire

## AN ADDRESS

BY  
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

Before the United Empire Loyalist Association of Canada  
at Toronto on April 10th, and, in its chief  
features, before the Canadian Club,  
Hamilton, on March, 13th, 1913

Toronto  
WILLIAM BRIGGS  
1913

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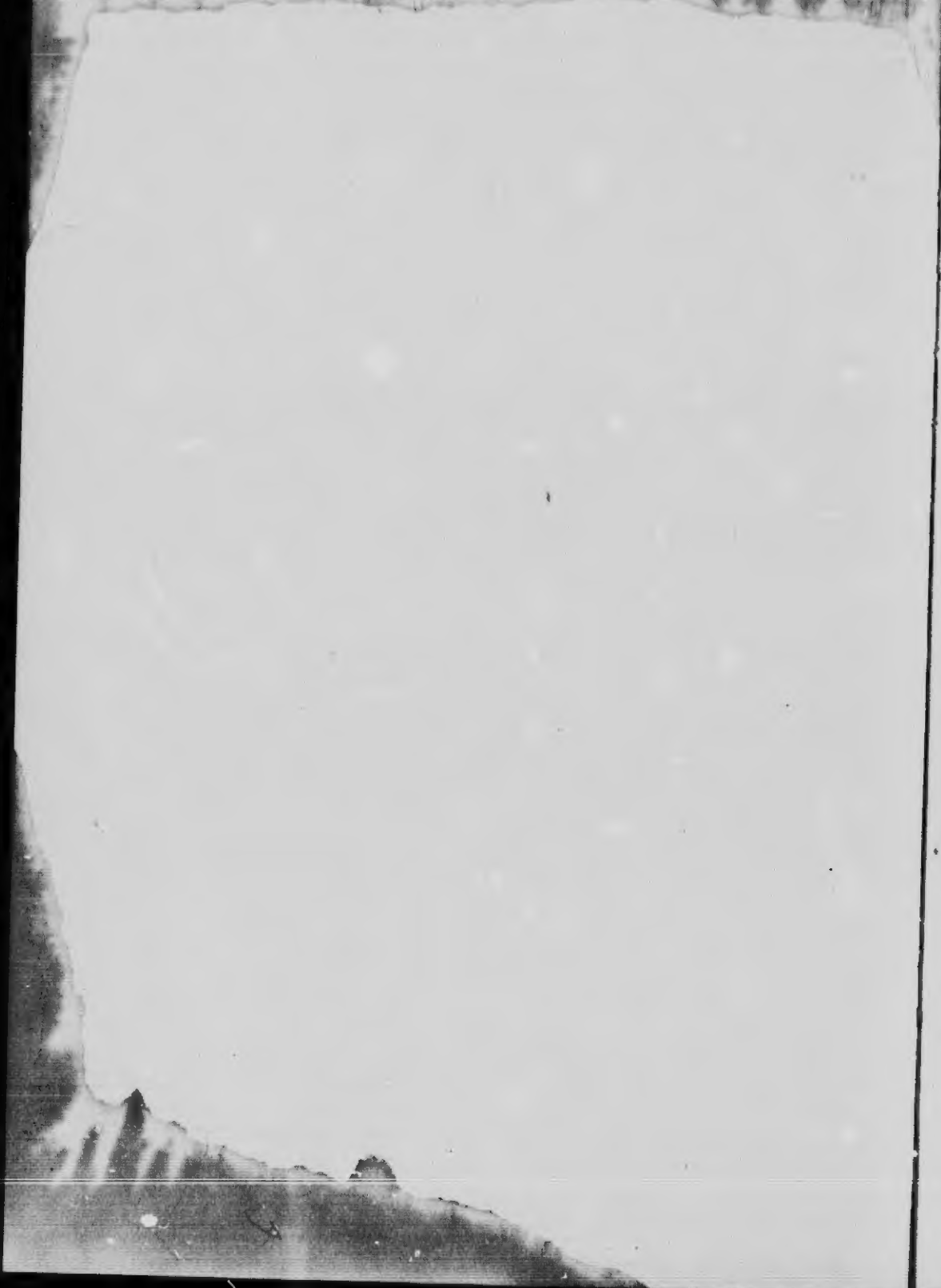
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## Western Canada and the Empire

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* It is a very far call from the primeval forests, the pioneer hardships, the dangers and difficulties which the men and women whom you represent to-night in this great Dominion of Canada, had to face, and the vast prairies of our Northwest, with their beautiful and bountiful crops, their magnificent resources, their riches in everything that goes to the formation of national wealth, their sunlight and sunshine which are illimitable and I suppose unequalled in the world for pleasantness to those who experience them at certain seasons of the year. But in another sense there is some resemblance, at least, between these two classes in the making of the Dominion, between the Loyalists who founded this great Province of Ontario and the men who pioneered the pathway of our progress and still greater future in the vast regions of the Western country.

The latter, as I recently gathered with a more keen perception than I ever had before, faced great difficulties and very great hardships of a special kind. Particularly would those hardships, or a knowledge of them, appeal to you here to-night, who are women, when you think of the vast loneliness of the prairies in the scattered settlements and homesteads—the still greater distances of separation in earlier days. The situation must, indeed, have been appalling to the women who were called on to face those conditions. I question if the loneliness of the forests, which was so formidable to the women in Loyalist days, could have been as great as was the loneliness on portions of the splendid prairies of the West even very recently. This condition is, however, in our time of telephones and motors and immigration, rapidly passing away.

When I had the pleasure of taking my third trip to the Pacific Coast last summer I did so with some faint idea born of the natural egotism which we all have when we study the development of a country very closely, that I knew something of the West. I had been there, it is true, ten years before, and I had since watched its progress and studied its statistics and admired its development, as we all do, but no man and no woman can understand what the West means, or what Western progress is, until he or she has been across that country.



in the immediate present and has breathed the air of optimism and hope, the air of up-building and strengthening, which is on every hand and which is absorbed by the person who goes into the country or becomes a part and parcel of his being when he becomes a resident of that country.

Even to us at the present moment the West is something which we can hardly appreciate to any full degree. To say that there is an area of 464,000,000 acres, that 260,000,000 acres are still unexplored and unknown, that 149,000,000 of the soil is, however, known to be cultivable to-day and has been surveyed and that of that 149,000,000 only 16,000,000 acres have been cultivated, conveys but a faint idea of what the Northwest may mean in the future. Out of that 16,000,000 of cultivated soil there came last year 400,000,000 bushels of wheat and other grains worth \$209,000,000. What will the 149,000,000 acres produce when they are put under a fair measure of cultivation and are brought into the swing of the full development of our future Dominion?

A scientific student of agriculture addressed the British Association when it met in Winnipeg two or three years ago. He stated, with a knowledge of the agricultural resources and possibilities and developments of the important countries of the world, that he believed the possible agricultural development of the Northwest of Canada was 5,000,000,000 bushels of grain. Not long before that the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Saskatchewan had made a similar estimate of 4,500,000,000 bushels, but it was rather scouted in some quarters and thought to be a greatly exaggerated estimate. If, however, the production of 400,000,000 bushels of grain to-day brings to that country what it does in wealth and strength, what will not the future development of the Northwest mean to us all? What it means to us all in the future, Sir, it means to those people there in the present to a degree which we can hardly appreciate or fully understand. It is the excuse for their optimism, it is the excuse for their belief in themselves, it is the excuse for their demand for more and more money, it is the excuse even, Sir, for Sub-divisions!

You cannot go through Winnipeg and be driven, as I had the privilege of being driven, all around and about the country in the neighbourhood of it, and go in the same way to Edmonton, to Calgary, to Regina, to Saskatoon, to all those marvellous cities and outgrowths of a new civilization and a new greatness in a national sense; you cannot visit these cities, see the country around them, grasp the possibilities of growth and development surrounding them, without understanding, I think, in a very great measure the pride and faith

which the people have in their country, and the tremendous future which that country has before it. If there are any men here interested directly in the financial condition of the West, let me say that I returned from that trip profoundly impressed with the fact that we should support those people in their optimism, that while we may not accept this particular local estimate or that particular local estimate, we can accept in the main the general view of the people of each individual city that they are bound to have a great future before them, and in doing that the man or woman who has a little money to invest, or much money to invest, and who invests it with adequate care and with the feeling that he or she can wait a while for returns, that person is absolutely certain, I think, subject to the ordinary mutations of life, to obtain an adequate return.

I studied, Sir, so far as one could the Sub-division question with its undoubted basis in fact and its occasional fabric of fraud. Let me give you a very brief and passing idea of what it is that the individual people in any particular city there build upon. I do not refer, of course, to the myriad smaller towns which are growing up, some of which may and some of which may not become of importance, but to the established, recognized centres of development in the West. Take, for instance, Winnipeg. In 1900 there was an inspection of wheat passing through Winnipeg of 12,000,000 bushels and last year the inspection of wheat passing through Winnipeg was 143,000,000 bushels—that City had, in the meantime, grown from a small centre of wheat export to the greatest wheat centre upon the American continent. In the same city ten years ago or so they had an output from manufacturing establishments of \$8,000,000, and nobody thought there ever would be much manufacturing development. To-day they have an output of \$39,000,000. Their Clearings through the Banks, indicating the volume of business, were \$100,000,000 ten years ago; to-day they are \$1,500,000,000. Well, now, take a city like that, spreading out upon the prairies, the Gateway to the vast West, with the grain of that country pouring through it, with the great Canadian Pacific Railway shops and the Canadian Northern shops, for instance, building up at Transcona what is practically a town, within a short time, and Winnipeg itself reaching out to join that place which four years ago was a vacant spot on the bare prairie, and ask the question why shouldn't those people be optimistic and hopeful, and why shouldn't they expect Winnipeg to be what it is bound to be, one of the greatest cities of the American continent.

Take Edmonton, again, where in 1901 the Assessment of the city was \$1,000,000 and in 1911 was \$123,000,000 and where the popu-

lation grew in the same period from 2,650 to 53,000. Edmonton is a place which has a splendidly fertile environment, great beauty of situation, abundant water, the rich country of the Peace River back of it, everything that goes to make a great city. There can be no question of the greatness of Edmonton in the future. Look at Calgary, with a population growing in eight years from ten to sixty thousand, and building permits from \$880,000 to \$20,000,000 in the same period and Assessments from \$4,000,000 to \$112,000,000! Look at its rich surrounding country, its wonderful expansion typified by the C. P. R. shops 5 miles out and the City rushing to meet them almost before construction is completed, its beautiful scenery and proximity to the Rockies.

Then visit Regina, the City of sunshine and hope, with its Assessment of \$979,000 in 1901 and \$34,800,000 ten years later, its early population of 2,645 and increase in the same period to 30,000, its Bank Clearings of 75 millions in 1911 and 115 millions in 1912; Saskatoon, the marvellous, with its vast area of tributary agricultural wealth; its building record of \$377,000 in 1907 and over \$5,000,000 in 1911, its increase in Assessment during the same period from 2½ to 23 millions, its growth of population from 113 in 1903 to 27,000 in 1912; then look at Moose Jaw, the centre of striking development and prosperity, with its wonderful wheat country, its growth of population in a few years to 25,000, its tremendous building activities and its estimated Assessment for 1912 of \$52,000,000. And then you cross the Rocky Mountains and come to Vancouver which is bound to be one of the great sea-ports and commercial centres of the world with its building permits of \$7,250,000 in 1909 and \$17,652,000 in 1911, its Bank Clearings of 246 millions and 543 millions, respectively; and you cross the Bay to Victoria the beautiful—now becoming one of the great residential centres of the Continent with, already, a record of Bank Clearings in 1909 of 70 millions and in 1911 of 135 millions and building permits increasing from \$1,677,000 to \$4,026,000. Back of it and around it are all the immense possibilities and rapid development of Vancouver Island.

And what does all this mean? There is, first of all, the financial side. Into the West of Canada is pouring \$100,000,000 a year for investment in farm improvements, money which is absolutely safe so far as money can be safe in this world of change. One Winnipeg Manager of a big Land Company showed me a statement which was going into the annual Report of his Company in a few days, to the effect that \$7,000,000 had come to their concern from Holland during the past year for that particular purpose. Into the cities is pouring,



and is required absolutely from year to year, something in the neighbourhood of another hundred millions for new buildings. There are two hundred millions a year required at the present time for the West, which must be obtained somewhere, and which is obtained partly from the eastern portion of Canada, a portion from Foreign countries, but mainly from Great Britain.

I had the pleasure while I was in the different Cities of the West of speaking to their Canadian Clubs, and I tried to present to them, and through them to the people who were able to take cognizance of the views expressed in the press, an idea of Empire and the relation of the West to the Empire, which seemed to be a little new to some of those who heard me. It is a thought which I want to express to you to-night, in a different way, perhaps, because it is vital to us in Eastern Canada to know what the view of the West may be in the future as well as what it is now. At the present moment the view of the West is imperfectly expressed in political elections and through political parties and in itself is somewhat chaotic; it is imperfectly expressed because the expression is that of people who are themselves in the process of making. They are not Canadians, many of them, as yet. There are, of course, many foreigners from Continental Europe, as you know. There are many more of them, a very large proportion in Saskatchewan and Alberta, who have come from the United States, people of high intelligence and good principles, people who have come to this country to make it their home, people who know something about the United States and settlers in whom I, for one, have the greatest confidence as having all the elements of splendid Canadians of the future. But they are not quite so yet, and the question is what can be made to appeal to these people along the lines of Empire, so as to make them realize that in being Canadians they should also be progressive Imperial citizens.

My view, if I may express it, is this: The average American in the West is there primarily to better himself. He is staying there because he has improved himself, and because he sees the great future before that country. He is going to become a Canadian in the sense of being a local citizen because he finds the laws are good, that they are better enforced and that there is, perhaps, more respect for them, than was the case in the community which he has left. So far so good. These things will make him, or his children, good Canadians, but they alone will not make him an Imperialist or a good British subject. I refer specially, of course, to the American, because the average American, whether he is living in Canada or the United States, has little regard for Great Britain, no regard for British great-

ness, British traditions, British history or any of the things that you as U. E. Loyalists regard and treasure, or as most Canadians in the Eastern part of the Dominion look upon with more or less pride. But, eliminating Great Britain from consideration except as a great part of a greater whole, he may be brought in the course of time and by process of education to look with pride upon a broad picture of Imperial power, of a vast Empire in which he, speaking, acting, voting as a Canadian, takes a share and holds a legitimate and powerful part. The right way to appeal to the American citizen in the West, I think, is this: You are big men naturally; you are big in your intelligence; you are big in your views; you are big in your faith in the West; you are big in the country which you possess.

We Canadians, who have been in this country longer than you, want you to join with us in a still wider and bigger outlook and become Empire citizens; not Britishers in the American sense of that word; but in a greater sense, special to Canada and special to all the outer Dominions of the British Empire. That idea and that ideal can be made to appeal to him, and upon the top of that, building upon some new feeling of pride in the Empire as a great factor in Canadian progress, as a great element in the preservation of the peace of nations, as a great influence in promoting a better civilization and life, as a powerful factor in the government of the whole world, can be added a knowledge of and a belief in the close and closer unity of the Empire as a practical, useful, substantial factor in the individual betterment of every man, woman and child in the country. Given these conditions and your American citizen is turned into not only a good Canadian but a good British subject. (Hear, hear.) It is only upon that general line, I think, that Imperialism can be made popular, in the course of time, in our great West.

Now, what are the factors of Empire greatness or unity that will distinctly appeal to the American-Canadian in the West? There is not a shadow of a doubt, of course, that a British Preferential duty upon wheat, upon grains of different kinds, upon all the products that the Western farmer grows, would be appreciated. If and when a change of policy takes place in Great Britain, and a Preferential Tariff is established there, and the American farmer in the Canadian West gets a 10 or 15 per cent. preference in the British market over his American competitor in the United States, he will understand from a practical view-point one substantial benefit of British citizenship. He already understands, or will do so, the very substantial benefit of British citizenship in the matter of law and order. The Americans one meets in the West, in the cities at least, are generous

in the expression of opinion that Canada has a better administered law, a greater respect for the law, and more order in the general management and life of the country, than they have experienced in the United States. (Hear, hear.)

Then you come to the third point in this possibility of development, and it is the burning subject of the day—the question of Defence. The question of Defence, to my mind, rests upon two substantial bases so far as Canadians are concerned. The first one, and the one that appeals to you as U. E. Loyalists, and that appeals, too, to many of us in Ontario and in the other older Provinces, who have not the honour to be United Empire Loyalists, is the element of gratitude, appreciation, knowledge of what Britain has done for Canadians, and of what British connection has meant for them in the myriad phases of their general development and individual life. We all appreciate the outstanding facts of tradition, of a great and glorious history, of sentiment as applied to our fellow-subjects in the British Isles, of pride in their greatness and pride in our own greatness as a part of the Empire, of faith in our people in other countries of the world as well as in the United Kingdom, and so on. Those of us who have studied the history of the Empire know, for instance, perhaps not to the full degree, that in the matter of Defence Great Britain has expended a great deal in the past century upon Canada.

I am afraid that very few understand quite how much she has expended. I had to look into this matter several years ago before the subject became a vital issue with the Canadian people. I obtained particulars from the British War Office, all the particulars they could afford me, covering a certain period of years, of the expenditure by the War Office upon defence in Canada. Those figures enabled me to estimate, when they were spread over the whole century and were made to include the cost of the acquisition of Canada in connection with the French war in North America ending with Wolfe's victory at Quebec, the defence of Canada in connection with the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, the various times upon which large numbers of British troops have been kept in or sent to Canada, as in the Trent affair—these figures enabled me to estimate, and upon grounds that I am absolutely certain of, and am quite prepared to prove, so far as any estimate can be proved, that the acquisition and defence of Canada has cost the British tax-payer up to date \$1,200,000,000. The figures are so large as to be astounding, and they are unfortunately not known to the great bulk of our people; I hope they will be.

Well, we in Eastern Canada, in our Eastern Provinces, can appreciate that point of view and that argument, an argument and point of

view based upon what Great Britain has done for Canada in the matter of Defence, and, therefore, what we ought to do at any critical period in the Empire's history in the way of helping Great Britain; but that argument and those facts do not appeal particularly to the new settlers in the West. What, then, will do so? I think it is a fact, in the first place, that the British Empire means—so far as a world-wide Power can compel the acceptance of a policy in diplomatic and other directions—that the British Empire means peace. (Applause.) That is the first thing that will appeal to the Westerner. Why? Peace means everything to him. Peace means, so long as the British flag is able to enforce it upon the seas of the world, that his products, no matter if they are four hundred million bushels or five thousand million bushels, can cross the seas of the world to every point where they may be required and to which they can be exported (Hear, hear) in absolute safety and immunity from danger and with a minimum of cost in the way of insurance and other charges. (Applause.) That is one vital point which appeals to him.

Then, there is a further and even greater point—especially to the American. He has, and rightly has, a regard for the country that he has left. He believes in the greatness of the United States. It will take time for him to understand that the British Empire is in certain respects greater, but that also will come. He will finally grasp this: that the power of a world-wide Empire, with a world-wide naval supremacy, with great Dominions such as Canada growing into strong nations and surrounding the Mother-country with a circlet of power, a circlet of naval supremacy and greatness, will make that country and the Empire in days to come absolutely invulnerable (Hear, hear); that this will mean, also, alliance, peace, friendship, between the United States and the Imperial Power of which he is now a subject. He will see that the greatness of the British Empire in its historic and natural love for peace will mean additional security in the way of peace and safety to the great Republic from which he has sprung; and the combination of the two will in the end help to ensure the American-Canadian citizen becoming a loyal, strong, pronounced citizen of Canada and of the Empire to which he now belongs.

Now, just a word, in closing, upon the German question itself. I feel, Sir, that Germany is a magnificent nation, that it has shown splendid capacity in development, in government and in national progress, that it has won the greatest position upon the Continent of Europe by qualities and in a way which merit the pride of its people in the thought and work of its statesmen. I believe that Germany has a perfect right to expand wherever she can obtain the opportunity,

or wherever she can force the hands of other nations to allow her people better opportunities for trade and wider possibilities in the way of territory and of general emigration and the like; but if Germany has that right, as she unquestionably has, the only rival Power to Germany in the world to-day, the only Power which Germany has seriously to compete with in that growth and in that development, has an equal right—the inherent right of all peoples and of all nations and of all individuals—to hold its own and to guard its territories and interests as against the policy or actions of another Power, no matter how right that Power may be from its own national standpoint in striving for supremacy or a place in the sun. (Hear, hear.)

Germany stands in the unique position, since the days of Napoleon, of absolutely dominating Europe. Her 5,000,000 trained soldiers at the beck and call of the wise statesman who is the ruler of that country, hold the balance of power, absolutely, on the Continent of Europe. If she says to France in diplomatic language "Do such and such a thing," France has to do it or accept public humiliation or war. If she says to Russia, or Austria, or any other country on the Continent of Europe, "Such and such a policy must be followed; I want it done," that policy has to be carried out unless Great Britain intervenes or war follows. Great Britain never intervenes in these things on the Continent of Europe in the matter of diplomacy, unless it is for specific reasons: (1) that her own interests are concerned, or (2) that there is some outstanding gross injustice about to be done to one of the weaker peoples of Europe, or (3) that an established Treaty is to be broken. When she does intervene in any of these directions her intervention is usually effective. Why? Not because she has an Army. God knows her 200,000 soldiers, facing the 5,000,000 of the Kaiser, would be a plaything in his hands; but because she has the mightiest fleet in the world, and no European Power can touch the British Empire in the event of war, or protect its commerce or hold its possessions, while that fleet guards the shores of the United Kingdom and maintains absolute supremacy in the North Sea or at any other vital point. (Hear, hear.) At the same time Great Britain's Navy cannot invade European territory or its small army menace European capitals.

Hence the fact that defence in the case of Great Britain is not defiance, that defence in the case of our Empire is not militarism, that defence in the case of British countries is not an infringement of the ideal of peace parties, or peace individuals, but is an exemplification and embodiment of an essential basis for peace in the world under present conditions. (Applause.) Imagine the position in



which Germany would stand with an Army of 5,000,000 trained soldiers *plus* a Navy that swept the seas! Imagine Great Britain meeting that Power in a diplomatic contest with the final testing trial of "You do what I want or fight." Where would we be under such conditions? The Navy is the life and death of Britain, of British commerce, of the British financial system which is behind the financial progress of the world. It is a matter of life and death to British financial credit and commerce to maintain the supremacy of the seas and to prevent any Power from being able to pour its millions of soldiers upon British soil or menace the peoples who own allegiance to the British Crown in many parts of the world; and who own that allegiance with the possession, at the same time, of the richest territories in the world—awaiting the exploitation of any nation that can take them away from Great Britain. (Applause.)

These facts can be made to appeal to Canadians whether they be of American or any other extraction, and these facts, if adequately presented, will prevail as strongly throughout the Dominion as does the general feeling that it is a good thing to be a Canadian from the Canadian standpoint, a good thing to be a Canadian because we have a fine soil and climate and a fine country. It is and has been a serious injury to the United States that they have not been able to retain, as we have, their connection with other great communities in other parts of the world; illumining the different political structures of these communities with a knowledge of each other's affairs, of each other's developments; giving to each an intimate acquaintance with political and social conditions in the other countries. This condition the people of the United States have never had, and its absence, as a natural consequence, has helped to develop stagnation in public life, corruption, too often, in public administration, and unrest in the political and national opinion of what is, after all, a great country and a splendid people. The presence of this Imperial or world-wide connection has, on the other hand, given Canada a wider outlook, a better patriotism, cleaner politics and clearer vision.

In conclusion, let me say a word as to Naval policy at Ottawa. Personally, my view, and the view I ventured to express in the West, was this: give a contribution, make it as big as we can afford to make it. I suggested figures as high as \$50,000,000. Let us do our duty in the present emergency, recognize the difficulties of Great Britain, help to voice the feelings of Canada that we ought to join in what is a war of construction to avert a war of reality, help with earnestness at the present juncture and help in a way which our history, and our reputation, and our standing warrant. Then, afterwards it may be,

build or establish in the Pacific a powerful Canadian fleet, joining with Australia, New Zealand, the Malay Straits and Hong Kong and India in keeping the entire Pacific absolutely safe for the British Empire; make the Pacific, what the Atlantic has long been, a British lake and ensure absolute safety for the transportation of our trade and our people across that great ocean; make certain, so far as we can, and for all time to come, close and intimate relations with the great nations that are growing up in Australasia and with the peoples that are developing elsewhere in the Empire.

Finally, Sir, let me thank you for your very kind attention. One feels sometimes these issues, perhaps, more strongly than they can be expressed and I have at times thought it a pity that people who own the proud possession that you hold, as descendants of the men and women who first founded this nation, have not retained a greater pride and a greater regard for the past, that they have not done more to develop and accentuate the feeling of British loyalty in this country, and that some of them, even, are renegade to the faith of their fathers and look forward to a future which involves separation from the British Empire. I hope that the good work you are carrying on will be spread yet more widely, and that you will live to see embodied in the history of the world a condition which will involve partnership between these great young nations and the great old nation which has so long sheltered them in the folds of its flag and has done so much for their development and their greatness; and that in doing so you will get away from a position which has been described in language of power by a Western poet (R. J. C. Stead)—away from what I think a good many Canadians feel at the present time, but that I hope the Canadian of the future will never have cause to feel:

Many the winds that rise and fall to the flag that ye call your own,  
And ye walk secure to the ends of earth wherever that flag is flown,  
Safe as a child in its mother's arms ye come and ye go at will,  
And ye take it all for granted—and your Mother pays the bill.

Truly ye come of a nation, sired of an unwhipped breed,  
Girding yourself with vigour, virile in thought and deed,  
Tracking the trackless future—making its hopes your own,  
As ye reap the fruit—the peace and power—the Motherland hath sown.

Truly ye love your Mother—never more loyal word  
Than boast ye make of Britain by British ears was heard—  
Vallant are ye, and haughty, mighty in speech and song,  
But ye turn your eyes to heaven when the hat is passed along.

Ye give of your blood on occasion—and royal and clean the gift—  
But ye know the load is heavy and ye do not stoop to lift,  
But here is all the burden, and yours is all the shame—  
The Charity-ward of the Empire, a nation only in name.

Is't well to boast of Empire and brag of Britain's might,  
Is't well to sing of her soldiers or hurry them into the fight,  
Is't well to raise your anthem for the King upon his throne,  
While ye leave the Mother-country to bear the load alone?

# The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs

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1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912

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An Historical, Statistical and Descriptive Record of Events,  
Policy, and Progress in Canada from Year to Year

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By  
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

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## *Four Newspaper Opinions*

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